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Switzerland as a Direct Democracy

KARL BÜRKLI - Bürkli, Karl 29 July 1823 Zurich, died 20 October 1901 Mettmenstetten, ref[ormed], later without religious affiliation, [citizen] of Zurich. [He was the] [s]on of Johann Georg [Bürkli (1793-1851). Cousin of Arnold [Bürkli (1833-1894) and Georg von Wyss [(1816-1893)]. Single [unmarried]. After interrupting the lower secondary school (1835-39) made B[ürkli] an apprenticeship as tanner 1839-42. 1842-48 followed journeyman years: In Paris (1845-47) B[ürkli] learnt of the doctrine of Charles Fourier, which shaped him decisively. 1848-55 [stay] in Zurich, from 1851 onwards, B[ürkli] together with Johann Jakob Treichler opposed the government of Escher: In articles and translations he propagated the ideas of Fourier, called for peoples and exchange banks and consumer and producers' cooperatives in order to reform and overcome the capitalist system and establishing a just society in a socialist republic. Influenced by Moritz Rittinghausen he saw in a direct democracy the appropriate transitional form. B[ürkli] joined 1851 the Grütliverein, 1851 [he] was co-founder and until 1854 factory manager in the Consumers' Association Zürich (Konsumverein Zürich) and 1851-55 Grand Counciller [Cantonal Counciller]. The experiment prepared by him in 1854 to build in Texas a Phalanstère after [the theory of] Fourier failed [soon] after the emigration already in 1856. After returning to Zurich in 1858 to 1861 worked again as a factory manager in the Consumers' Association when he lost his struggle against the capitalist developments against Treichler. 1861-87 he managed as restaurateur an inn that became the center of oppositional movements. 1867-69 [he was] leader in the democratic movement, as was also a member of the 35er Commission of the Constitutional Council in 1868-69. Here he obtained the support for the cooperatives by the State. Earlier, he pled also for reforms of the Cantonal bank (Kantonalbank) and the military in the sense of people's army. 1869-78 and 1882-99 he was a member of the cantonal parliament, 1866-70 and 1893-1901 of the Gr[and] City Council of Zurich.

In 1866, B[ürkli] joined the [First] International, 1867-76, was the founder and pres[ident] of the section Zürich and actively participated in the meetings during its congresses in the Switzerland. From its beginning, he joined the social democratic workers' movement, which emerged in the last quarter of the 19th century. In addition to old claims he now pursued the introduction of proportional representation and made suggestions for the use of water power by the Stat. He also wrote works on the history of the old Confederation, among others, against the Winkelried myth that he criticized from his democratic position [...]. (Text in brackets added by author).

OST4: NARRATOR

2093, August 1st, The Alliance of Europe celebrated its 50th anniversary, since its constitution 2043, one hundred

years after the foundation of the European Community in Maastrich 1993. This year the presidency was held by the Swiss Confederacy and people all over from the Alliance had come to Seelisberg, the former canton, now district of Uri, in former Switzerland. The name of the Alliance of Europe was rather symbolic, even though most of its members belonged geographically to Europe, this was not an essential criteria for membership and not all Europeans formed part of it. It was rather an ideological community. As such, also Israel and Palestine, Armenia or even Brasil had allied for their great affinity with its goals and their economic interests. Others, like Turkey had allied only in part; paradoxically the Eastern, Asian part had become member while Istanbul had become member of the Arabic League. Many belonged also to other associations. Most Southern European countries were also member of the Mediterranean Community, the Scandinavians and Scottish had allied with Russia in the Northern League. Many of the members were no longer nation states in the sense of 20th Century politics, but rather politico-economic alliances themselves, a kind of associations who controlled certain property. The Romani controlled not even land property, but managed complex treaties with land owners who allowed them to settle or pass through. Similarly the Bankers' Union, an association of former Bankers who had allied after the financial system broke down and fiat money was persecuted within the Alliance of Europe. They had mostly specialise in assessing complex databases for social networks in Internet and lived a nomadic live inbetween the large metropolises of the world, Shanghai, Karachi, Beijing, Delhi, Lagos, Tianjin, Istanbul, Guangzhou, Mumbai, Moscow, Dhaka, Cairo, São Paulo, among other, and naturally Helvetia, the current name of former Switzerland, which had converted into the the largest and greenest city of Europe with almost 18 million inhabitants. Helvetia, as most of the large cities was also member of the Large City Congregation who negotiated with the Agrarian Communities Association. Not everybody was best friends, but they had learnt to settle their conflicts peacefully. Their common ideal had been inspired by the experiences of one of its founding members, the Swiss who had shown how to convert a military alliance into a learning community, during the 19th Century. Before the Alliance of Europe, already the European Community had cherished the hope to create a kind of Pax Aeterna, a kind of Kantian "perpetual peace". It was almost achieved among the European states, when the financial crisis 2008 brought the people all over Europe up, against their state administrations, and nurtured strong suspicion against Europe.

The Fireworks were about to begin.

Child: Grandma' may I buy some firecrackers?

Grandmother: Sure, her you are.

She gave the child a bill. Soon after the child came back with its dangerous toy and returned the change to the grandmother. The grandmother tossed the coin in her hand, then looked at the child.

Grandmother: Look at this coin, do you know who this is?

She points at a female head on one side of the coin.

Child: Of course yes, that's Libertas! Every child knows it - even though, some think it's Europe.

The grandmother smiled.

OST4A: TRUTH-EVIDENCE - UNDERSTANDING THAT UNITY LIED IN PLURALITY (NAPOLEON PASTRY)

January 1876. Katharina sat on her terrasse in the Pension Morel on the Lützel matt, in Luzern (Muff, 1998, p. 67). She wrote some lines in here diary, looked over the Lake Lucerne and remembered. She tossed a silver spoon in the cup of fine china, the café crème her niece Katharina Peyer had just brought her, together with a delicious mille-feuille after an original recipe which Marie-Antoine Carême was supposed to have presented at the Congress of Vienna . He had introduced the "service à la russe" (serving each dish in the order printed on the menu) to European courts and rounded it up with this delicious puff pastry with two layers of cream. Her nice Katharina served it always, as she, Katharina Morel had taught her, flavoured with almond and in triangular shape, resembling Napoleons bicorne. That's why she, sometimes still named the pastry Napoléon. The many layers of it remebered her the Grand Armée during her participation in the Russian campaign.

Katharina Peyer looked at her and smiled: What is it, that makes this pastry so special for you?

Katharina Morel: Once, Napoleon had meant everything for me, when I was younger. She had dream with Libertas leading the people long before Eugène Delacroix painted her, with pileus and the tricolor, commemorating the 1830 Revolution. "Liberté, égalité, fraternité, ou la morte [Liberty, equality, brotherhood, or death]" this had been motto of the French revolution in 1789. But the final part "death" would be soon dropped after the sad experiences with the Reign of Terror when Napoleon ended the Revolution with a



coup in 1799. We had French soldiers in our Inn the Kreuz, when my father still run it. And you can believe me, I had no good opinion of them. They had our country occupied and plundered. We could have predicted the bad end of the Napoleonic era. When he summoned the soldiers for his Grand Armée (Muff, 1998, p. 33). Heinrich Peyer, your oncle, my husband was ill by that time, and I myself had to do the job, hiring men, almost like a little condottiere. I liked that job, but it was not easy. May fled into Napoleonic services. But we managed. Heinrich Peyer followed Napoleon to Marseille in November 1809 under the order of coronel Castella. We were not blind, we new about the strict discipline in the Napoleonic army, but at home the business was so small, people paid late, if ever, and I felt that I was also born for something great. Therefore, soon after in July 1810, I followed him.

K. Peyer: This is where you met coronel Josef Xaver Segesser (1767-1811)?

K. Morel: Exactly, unfortunately he would die soon after, but he would be the key for my future fate.

OST4B: EVIDENCE-SUSPICION

Segesser had offered me to become a kind of cantinière or sutler (Marketenderin), but I would convert this opportunity into a real career. I run a pension for high rank officers in Maastrich, later in 1813, and I even hired an entire ship for the Swiss Regiment in November 1815 when they had to take over to Gorum.

K. Peyer smiled, her aunt became shiny eyes when she told about her great achievements. She watched how K. Morel ate a piece of the mille-feuille, elegantly like a Swiss version of Queen Marie Antoinette.

K. Peyer mumbled: "la petit Suisse".

That's how K. Morel was called by the French soldiers.

K. Morel wiped the corners of her mouth with a napkin: Hm yeah, I was almost a kind of logistic officer, you know, and actually, my true motivation was only that... I was tired to loose all my goods and household again and had no money for the transfer. We had already lost too much - and too many had died.



My true destiny was death, I guess. An now, it will catch me finally, I fear. You know what is written down on the Millers bridge (Mühlebrücke)?

K. Peyer shook her head.

K. Morel: "Wie oft hab ich den Tod betracht, Myn Leben lang °2 Bei Tag und Nacht °2 Jez da ich sin am minsten acht °2 Kuntt er zu mir mit ganzer Macht [Death, how often have I kept him in sight, throughout all my life °2 by day and night °2 now, where for him I least abide °2 he comes to me with all his might) (Baumann, 1996, Die Greisin; as cited in Kaiser, 1910, p. 162).

She looked for a while at a point far in the distance, remembering, then she laughed: Ha, but the truth is, "I think I have achieved a lot in my life".

(Subplot: The Russian Campaing 1811-1813)

OST4C: SUSPICION - FALSEHOOD

K. Morel: At the beginnig I though it was all an adventure, but the most skilled and hard-fighting died first.

"Now, I know what war is."

MC1: NARRATOR - MEMORIES - HOW TO CONVERT FATE INTO DESTINY (LIBERTAS)

Child: Does this mean that the Swiss faught for Napoleon?

Grandmother: Yes, and against him. They were at many fronts by this time. The Bourbon of the two Sicilies had made treaties with four Swiss regiments; first Ferdinand I (1751-1825) , and later Ferdinand II (1810-1859) (Maag 1909, Huch, HLS). But that's not the point here. You must know, Napoleon had influenced not only the liberals, even the conservatives had been inspired by the Enlightenment. As such, many of them also hoped for changes, just that they thought to be able to avoid the mistakes and terror that had followed the Revolutionary fight in 1789 and did not share the values of the French Enlightenment.

Meta Heusser-Schweizer, for example, she was often here, on the Rigi.

Child: Oh, this wonderful mountain over there?

Grandmother: No you are looking Southwards, not this one, this is the Pilatus. People like him very much, now. But the Rigi, that was the beginning of Swiss tourism. Look over here Eastwards. There was a little mountain inn that belonged to the Segesser family and came under the direction of Katharina Morel in 1846. She would convert it into a real bathing hotel. But we are proceeding to fast. I wanted to tell you Meta's story. She went to the Rigi, already when Katharina was still fighting against the cold Russian winter, death and despair on the devastating return from the Berezina engagement in 1813.

Meta had even grown up on hill, but another one, just at the frontier between the cantons Zug and Zürich on the Züricher side. But her family had its roots in the canton Schwyz. Well, part of it, because her grandfather had been married to a German women, Anna Margaretha Schulz (1716-1799). That's of whome she got her first name from. Her father was the famous parson Diethelm Schweizer (1751-1824). Thus she would grow up as preacher's daughter. But those were no easy times for a clerical's family. The parsons in Zürich were considered to belong to the aristocracy, and had to feel the liberal oppression by this time. Look, she had even written book.

The grandmother dug a little device out of her breast pocket and searched for the mentioned book and handed a Virtual Retinal Display over to the child.

1802 Zürich was bombed and occupied by the French.

Thus, even simultaneously, it was not Napoleon, but rather the experience with the nonsense of violent actions, personal encounter and redemption and the example of her father, that taught Meta openness and love for the village people. Later in 1810, she would meet for the first time Jakob Heusser, and would not see herself above to marry, in 1821, this farmer's son who had become a doctor through his autodidactic learning and efforts (pp. 77, 84).

Meta saw in the retrospective many parallels between the lives of the family Heusser and the family Hirzel. Yet, his bravery was not enough for her. Only, when he, the diehard rationalist, would convert to the Christian faith

(Schindler, 2007, p. 53). This would be an important reason for her decision to marry this man, who according her lacked "the first principles", i.e. a good nursery and cultural refinement. But on top of all these rational reasons, she considers God's plan as the true driver with the words:

" 'Unsers Schicksals Buch (auch ein Buch mit sieben Siegeln) ward Ihm übergeben' - und so glaube ich denn getrost: es war in Gottes Buch geschrieben, daß ich Heußers Frau, die Mutter seiner Kinder werden sollte, so eigentümlich vorherbestimmt, wie in ihnen unsere Naturen sich mischen sollten ['The book of destiny (also a book with seven seals) was handed over to him' - and thus, I believe in good cheer: it was written in God's book, that I should become Heusser's wife, the mother of his children, so peculiar predestined, as in them our natures should be mixed]" .(p. 79)

By all her doing, openness and scrutiny, it was finally through her faith in a divine power who, according her experience took personal interest in her life and answered her, which should win her doubts and make her free to act.



MC1A: FATE-PREDICTION

K. Morel: When we returned to Switzerland, I thought finally things would become better. But first died your mother, which was very said. The good thing was that you and your cousin came to me. But then, your uncle, my husband the Peyer died, and it seemed that everything was lost again. Your cousin returned home and we lost contact. But then, I met Josef Morel, and through him I entered the business world. That was great time. I was an actioneer of the city theater and once I reserved a private lodge all for me alone. That was my world and I would not give it up so easily.

"I think that I achieved much in my life, and yet I could not stay quiet".

K. Morel: A few years later things would change again. Death knocked on our door once more. Morel died in sudden, I couldn't believe it. However, I had experienced to many falls in the past to know, that if you get on your feets again, things will turn into good.

We run the Kaltbad together and converted it into a real bathing resort for exclusive tourists.

MC1A2: FATE-PREDICTION

Meta described the "terror of the revolutionary time":
 "Aus der Dämmerung des frühesten Traumlebens ist unverlöscht eine Erinnerung mir geblieben: der Augenblick, da meine Eltern mit uns Kindern auf dem Hirzel hinter unserer Wohnung, dem «Pfarrhausrain», standen und in Herzensangst die Röte des fernen Brandes schauten, in welchem die Dörfer Unterwaldens untergingen, nachdem Scharen ihrer Bewohner von den Franzosen hingemetzelt waren. [From the dawn of earliest dream life, one memory had remained indelibly: the moment when my parents stood there with us kids on the Hirzel, behind our apartment, the "Pfarrhausrain [parsonage edge)", and with anguish watched the redness of the distant fire, in which villages of [the canton) Unterwalden went down, after masses of their inhabitants had been massacred by the French" (Heusser-Schweizer, 1980, p. 37) .

MC1B: PREDICTION-INTERDICTION

K. Morel: Then came the fire, and I could barely save the most essential, the cash... I thought, whatever I do, at the end it would be destroyed.

Even though her father had opposed the ancien régime, during that time the family Schweizer would be persecuted, suspect for wanting to "poison the French". It was particularly their job to host the French officials. During this time, between 1799 and 1801, they had once also hosted a young corporal who feigned not to understand German. Later in 1805, he would turn out to be from the canton Vaud, and had returned to thank them for the unexpectedly good treatment (p. 40). (This could be developed further to a subplot).

Another "scene that remained to [them all) deeply imprinted in their memory" was the case of Huber im Feld (p. 43). He was one of the persecutors from the village who intended to kill Diethelm Schweizer, Meta's father, for his supposedly aristocratic privileges, between 1801 and 1802. In 1804 there was a local uprising against Napoleon, the Bocken inn war, and Huber was one of its leaders. Meta's father was able to stop him from the worst through a diplomatic speech and defended him against coronel Ziegler as a good "patriot".

MC1B2: PREDICTION-INTERDICTION

K. Morel: When I received the offer to run the Schweizerhof, I knew, I had to create something lasting, something more than just enough to satisfy urgent needs. That's when I started training you and your colleagues. Women need a good education. We had fought with them for the liberation of the country. I was not the only one at the Niemes and the Berezina, we had organized the Pepper women, and where were we, now? Only a good education can provide young ladies with the arguments to defeat male objections against their full participation in business life and finally get rid off the annoying gender assistance (Geschlechtsbeistand).

Later, this Huber would be very thankful to Diethelm Schweizer and they would even become friends. Schweizer became even the godfather of Huber's first grandson who was named after him Diethelm (pp. 43-52). (This could be developed further to a subplot).

MI1 NARRATOR: DEVELOPING A PLAN (TORNISTER)

Child: Wow, fascination how God guided the people and made things good.

Grandmother: Well, not exactly. This was just one version of the story. The liberals, as for instance Katharina Morel, preferred to trust in their own wisdom and skills. Rather than a divine revelation, they understood Enlightenment as the product of a judicious use of their mind. By the way, have you brought your tornister?

Child: My what?

The grandmother looked surprised and with an apologetic glance in her look said: Sorry, I wanted to ask if you brought the knapsack with the Cervelat sausages? Did you know that 1891 they already at the Cervelat during the Swiss National Day, August 1st? Even though, mine today is vegetarian, made of soja. Come, I think the embers are ready for roasting them. While they frizzel I'd like to tell you something about the knapsack.

There was a man, called Heinrich Weiss of Fehraltorf, in the canton Zürich. He was of humble origins, just like Katharina Morel. His father had been a teacher, and sent him to the prominent cantonal high school in Aarau. In Luzern, where Katharina went to school, the lessons were free for boys and girls but only for four years, and it was not compulsory. Further, the method was not very efficient, based on memorizing and repetition. In the canton Argau, they had already tried to reform the school during the Helvetic (1798-1803), but it failed due to the lack of

economic resources.

Since 1805 attending the school had become mandatory for all kids and the task to establish schools had been delegated to the communities. Since 1813 also middle and higher schools were decreed. Parents were fined or sent to prison if they did not send their children to school, and there were many of them who preferred their progeny to help on the farm or to work in the textile fabrics in order to support the household economy. In 1835, under the liberal government, school laws were harmonized and unified for all communities of the canton (Leimgruber, 2010). Similar developments occurred in other liberal cantons. For instance, in 1833 the University of Zürich was established. The liberals believed that a good education would provide the tools children needed in order to be able to gain an income when they grew up. A stable income and property, were a condition for citizenship by this time. Further, they hoped, that through the right training of teachers, the children would also form their mind with liberal thoughts. But even the conservatives welcomed a more ample offer in education. For many families during almost three centuries the future of their sons lied in a military career. But since the 18th century, mercenary services were in decline (Henry, 2012). There were three major reasons. Plundering was no longer allowed, which increased the economic costs and risks for the condottiere, the owner of a unit, inhibited by a strong inflation. Further, the pre-industrial economic development was rather positive and offered more attractive alternatives. A third reason was the military organization itself, changes in military strategies and techniques did no longer fit the qualities foreign forces demanded of the Swiss mercenaries and compulsory military service made the existence of private military enterprises increasingly questionable. Napoleon had caused a real break in this development. The Swiss mercenaries deserted in large number and the Regiments were finally fully dispensed from French services. After Napoleon, in 1816 the last capitulations were signed with Louis Philippe I. The longest capitulation, the one with the Vatican, had also ended in 1832, at least proforma. But, I wanted to present you Heinrich Weiss.

He was convinced that hard work and learning were the path to success in the new, liberal canton Zürich. He believed that four areas were key for economic progress and social justice; a slim and improved state administration and juridical system, a broad public education free from the influence of the church, a solid credit system for small people, and an improved road transport system. He worked on all this already between 1833 and 1835. One of his major contributions were the foundation of the Secondary school in Fehraltorf and his vote for the calling of the liberal theologian David Friedrich Strauss to the University of Zürich (Gemeindeverwaltung Fehraltorf, 2014). This was the plan for changing the soldiers knapsack with the student's satchel.

Sadly, exactly these good intentions would lead to a major conflict in Zürich.



MI1A: WISDOM-SKILL

H. Weiss: Thank you for coming. How is your farm running?

Father of a pupil: Thank you fine, but it's time that Heiri (Swiss for Henry) works in the spinning mill to get bring money home.

H. Weiss: That's why I wanted to speak with you. Heiri is a very good student. He should learn some profession.

Father: Uff, that's impossible. It's too expensive for us. Some decade ago, perhaps, we had been weaving at home. But now, we cannot compete with the newly established fabrics.

H. Weiss: I understand. And if school was for free?

Father: Yes, If the school were... If I were a rich man things were also different. Let's be serious.

H. Weiss: I'm serious, but I need support when I'm in the government, if they elect me.

Father: They will, and you can count on my support, but what for.

H. Weiss: I need you to convince other parents to visit a school after the basic education; let's call it a secondary school.

Father: If you achieve to establish a secondary school here, I'll help you to get students. Don't worry.

The father went home, but Heinrich Weiss remained a long time planning, how to proceed.



MI1B: SKILL-EXPERIENCE

In the council, the men discussed how to improve the education system and planned the educational program for the newly established University of Zürich. A professor of theology had to be chosen.

XY: We should send a letter to the church communities in order to ask whome of the parsons would be willing to accept this chair.

von Orelli: I know that the young Bernhard Hirzel was interested. He is an extraordinarily talented theologian. He even studied Sanskrit and had studied in Berlin where Hegel and Schleiermacher had taught (Losurdo, p. 19, 231).

XY2: Many had studied Hegel, what shall that mean. They all took their lessons with Hegel, Freemasons and conservatives equally. Hirzel, he is just one more of these old style aristocrats.

H. Weiss: You might be right, but consider that Hirzel was willing to give his vote for Strauss. He himself had been much more interested to promote the chair of Indic languages. Look, this was his proposal for the lesson plan in 1863: Sanskrit, Gothic, Persian and Chaldean grammar. It could have been an interesting offer but we didn't any student's for it (Antiquarisch, p. 70).

XY: A part from that, Hirzel was now already since January 1838 parson of Pfäffikon. It should not be a clergy man, but an independent intellectual, somebody for liberal theology. Strauss would be a good choice. We should come to a decision soon.

On 26 January 1839, the Educational Council voted for David Friedrich Strauss 7 against 7 votes, which were decided by the casting vote of the maire Conrad Melchior Hirzel.

Heinrich Weiss was full of hope. This was a good plan.

MI1C1: EXPERIENCE-ENLIGHTENMENT

The educational council's appointment of Strauss as professor for dogmatics or theology, had to be approved by the state council. This was the last opportunity the church council saw, in order to oppose against the liberals anti-clerical approach.

Antistes Füssli brought send a petition (Motion) claiming for the church's right to have a say in the appointment of theology professors. The state council rejected this



petition and confirmed the election of Strauss.

Hürlimann-Landis constituted therefore an initiative committee, later called Central committee, involving all church communities. The people get nervous and press reflected a strong partisanship on both side.

18 March 1839. in the Grand council.

H. Weiss: As already discussed in the State council, the opposition of the local communities, especially in our rural areas could become a problem. There had already been uprising against the government in other cantons. A part from that, we could, for the first strat with less visible actions. There are some good liberal professors at the newly constituted secondary schools, like for example Karl Kramer in Pfäffikon. Thus, the proposition from the State council was to pension off Strauss.

This proposition was approved and Strauss was pensioned. Heinrich Weiss and Keller met.

Keller: That was certainly the best decision to pension Strauss. You will see how people become more quite.

H. Weiss: I doubt that Ludwig, I doubt that. We'd rather plan how to act in case of further opposition. The people are not ready yet understand the full meaning of our educational programm. Sometimes things must be pushed forward and later explained quietly. But you have to show who is government, who has the power, otherwise you will loose it.

Keller: Don't be an extremist, things will settle.



MI1C2: EXPERIENCE-ENLIGHTENMENT

17 February 1839 a meeting of the church committee (Kirchenstillstand), Hirzel is member. Actions in relation to the negative reacionts from the people against the appointment of Strauss were discussed.

6 March 1839 The church committee convoked a Parish Assembly.

The conservative "Zürcher Freitags-Zeitung" and the radical "Republican" published their opinion on the Assembly of

March 6. The "Republican" used the word "terrorism". The "Beobachter" defended Hirzel's implication as correct, and rejected the defamation of the "Republikaner", relativating his role as "leader".

27 August 1839. Meeting of the Parish Chapter
(Pastoralgesellschaft Pfäffikon). Hirzel gave a speech

B. Hirzel: I know I asked you to wait since only an "open revolution" could remove a legally elected person. But "Now, the revolution had come from the governmen (Jetzt ist eine Revolution [!] von der Regierung ausgegangen).

MI2: PLAYING A ROLE (LIFE OF JESUS)

Child: But, where the people not happy about a better education system and all the other improvements.

Grandmother: Well, in principle yes, but they could not agree on the way in which it should be improved. There was a general consens, that education was more than just the teaching of writing and calculation. The Swiss were highly influence by Rousseau and they believed that they way people were taught was decisive in shaping their mind and growing a moral attitud in them. The liberals wanted to overcome the teaching of positive Christianity as it was taught by this time by the Protestant parsons and the Catholic nuns and monks. They simply considered it supertition and mythological and wanted to train the young mind for critical thinking and a rational approach to religion. For the churches, the issue was exactly the other way arround. They believed that these Atheist ideologies would spoil the children's minds and moral senses. For them Switzerland was not just an accumulation of people who shared a common interest or belonged to a same government, in fact, it was none of these by that time. For the clergy, Switzerland was a kind of Covenant, a continuancy of the Treaty between God and the people of Israel, extended to all Christendom. This included a promis, to keep the country save and prosperous as long as they remaind true to their faith. Thus, for the religious people, economic progress and political sovereignty depended directly on God. Not on any kind of divine power, put the concret God of the Bible to whome they attributed historical personality and of whome they believed that He had intervened in the daily life of the people in the past and would also do so in the future. For the liberals, especially for the radicals and those who belonged to the secret societies, foremost the Freemasons, this was complete nonsense and, according to them, exactly the origin of all misery which they were willing to fight in the interest of all.

There was one man, whome this conflict seemed even to brake

appart. Bernhard Hirzel had been born into an old aristocratic family, belonging to the ancien régime. On the one side, he had experienced the decline of his family's glory. His brother had still hoped for a military career, but the end of the mercenary services had brought significant changes for young officials. Influences were more important than before, with the French Revolution, the image of the aristocratic lifestyle had declined, and there was a decreasing prospect for economic benefits from them (Henry, 2012). The time for entrepreneurial talent and business people had come. His father understood that and managed very successfully his businesses. This brought also a shift in the lifestyle. Staying out late, drinking and promiscuity formed part of it °0REF°1. This led to conflicts in his parents marriage and violent scenes. Already, as a young boy Bernhard had tried to mediate, to stop his mother from her own dissolute life, without success. During his early school years, he therefore, already harbored dark thoughts, and always carried a dagger with him, ready to suicide. He finally escaped into the academic world, and with the teachings of Sanskrit he found his own version of paradise. He was skeptic with the Christian faith himself, but he had seen the devastating effects the Atheist ideals had had on his parents moral. According Bernhard, their only God was money. The Indic Pantheism seemed to Bernhard the solution and an inspiration for the still young Hegelian philosophy. A pre-condition for studying Sanskrit, had been the former study of theology at the Carlinums in Zürich. This should later reveal as his Achilles heel. In 1833, Bernhard had achieved all his studies with the speed of light and married immediately Maria Elisa Tobler (1811-1856), with whom he had been engaged since 1827, just before he left for his studies in philosophy and Sanskrit in Berlin and Paris. As soon as he had returned he was offered a position as outside lecturer at the newly established University of Zürich. In the same year his son Arnold was born. This position would not bring sufficient income to sustain his small family. Therefore, he could be lucky, that in the meantime he had also been ordained as VDM (Verbi divini minister). This gave him the status of an official minister of the Protestant Church. An thus, he would first accept a vicar in Schwerzenbach, and later even be elected as pastor of Pfäffikon. Now, it seemed that his life would have been resolved. He still found the time to go on with his Sanskrit translations, and even though, the parsonary had lost much of its past power and wealth, the parson was still an important man who earned a good living. But Bernhard was not able to take his opportunity. His childhood suffering had remained unsolved throughout all these years, and in addition to his work, also romantic affairs had become a ventile and escape from his unanswered need for love and recognition. In part, this need should be answered, when he started in the parsonary. The very month, on 12 February 1838, was the brand of Pfäffikon (Vogel, 1841). It had broken out for unknown reasons and caused much destruction. Bernhard was fully engaged with helping the people and leading Fire Commission in order to rebuilt the town. The people loved him for this, which even more motivated his engagement in

his parish. The true and lively religious devotion of these people affected also Bernhard's view on the role religion played in social life. Even though, he had voted in favor of David Friedrich Strauss, as did Heinrich Weiss, he could understand why the people were against his election and supported their claims. More and more he got involved in defending the cause of the conservative rurals, who defended the church and the Protestant faith against what they understood as a "Godless" teaching. In the mean time, Bernhard's marriage became more and more conflictive. He felt not loved by his wife, who on top had some disease with epileptic symptoms and her health conditions degraded quickly, according him. He entrapped himself gradually more in love relationships, rumours, false and a real bastard which all together increased his financial debts. He who had strived for higher ideals, felt finally caught by the father's demon money. Again thoughts of suicide persecuted him. At this point, the political events seemed to provide him an opportunity to play a role and end his life as one of the hero of the Sankrit literature he translated and so much loved. The people had re-established a committee in the defense of their religion, i.e. against the government of Zürich and its liberal politics in education. Since they gathered in the church community rooms, Bernhard got also involved. When Rahn-Escher inserted the rumour that the government had planned to call for the Confederate troops, Bernhard painted the future in its darkest and believed that only a quick action could prevent the government from overrunning the people. While he had still stopped the rage of the people in February, justifying Strauss' election as legal act, in August he gave a speech in which he said: "Jetzt ist eine Revolution [!] von der Regierung ausgegangen. [This time the revolution [!] had come from the government]." He would be publicly recognized as the leader of the putsch, which ended successfully for the conservatives from the land. Bernhard was celebrated on his return, in the evening of September 7 1839, the town was festively illuminated. Bernhard, as member of the church committee would become also member of the educational council and take his influence there.

Child: Then was this Bernhard Hirzel a revolutionary leader?

Grandmother: Yes, but the leader of a conservative revolution whose ideals he did not even share. For Siegwart-Müller, he had certainly been a hero.

MI2A: SELF-INTEREST-MORALITY

On September 4, the radicals had met on the Platte again. Hirzel had sent out a circular to the village Hittnau for its further communication to Bauma.

"The tyrants in our so-called government want [to bring)

foreign people in our Canton. They already approach the frontier! - Get up, he who has a drop of freedom blood! Stand up, ready for the holy fight for God and fatherland! Listen to the church bells of Pfäffikon; as soon as they ring, all together, young and old [march] to Zürich, where our brothers stay ready. Who has weapons, brings them with him!" (Antiquariat, p. 96)

6 September. parsonery Pfäffikon

K. Kramer: Bernhard I have to speak with you. I know that things are getting quite hot now. You know that I'm on the governments side. It's not only an ideological question. You know I'm here in exile and under the protection of the government of Zürich. I owe them my loyalty. Do you really believe there is no way out?

B. Hirzel: I have got a secret message from Rahn-Escher, they want to call the troops, even foreign troops. We have seen that before, they will just squash the people. Who cares what they feel, what they believe? I'm in the educational council, I know what they think Weiss, and all the others. They think, just because they have had their chance, anybody would like live like them. They believe so Enlightened. But I have seen which power lies in true faith. I wished I that faith.

K. Kramer: I'm so sorry, I shall leave best and go to Baden. Perhaps, the day tomorrow tih confront us as enemies. Try to keep the people back.

B. Hirzel: I can't. I would have to bare with this guilt all my life. You owe your loyalty to the government, I owe it to them.

K. Kramer: I know.

They had tears in their eyes and embraced each other. Then they separated (Antiquariat, p. 88).

MI2B: MORALITY-ATTITUDE

Hirzel went home. He felt so bad. His wife had already gone to bed. She did not feel well, as always. He kissed his little Arnold good night and sat there in his office.

He could not sleep. He felt alone and tired. Whatever he tried, it seemed that it did not turn out well. He hate violence so much. But he was first of all responsible for the town people. What if the rumours were right and the Confederate troops arrived. Then everything would be lost. He wished he could die.

MI2C: MORALITY-ATTITUDE

Johann Jakob Heusser on the Hirzel had known the message in Bernhard Hirzel's circular and gets himself ready.

Meta, his wife just shakes her head. He had never been a fierce believer nor a conservative, why would he fight on the people's sight now.

MI2C: ATTITUDE-APPROACH

IC4: THE PAST (THE LAW)

Grandmother: Constantin Siegwart-Müller had been the foster son of a Catholic priest, but later studied at liberal universities in Swizerland and Germany. Two of his prime concerns were the improvement of the law system and education. Therefore, he had supported the suppression of the monasteries at the Baden Conference 1835. His idea was to educate the masses in political issues through his "Volkszeitung" [people's press).

Again, on the Rigi around 1832, Constantin had known the city minister Christopher Fuchs who inspired Constantin with his philosophy of the "community of the Holy (Gemeinschaft der Heiligen)" (Rüf, 1952, pp. 14-15). Constantin believed in a renewal of the people and the institutions from the insight. Even the newly electe conservative Grand Councilor Joseph Leu, in the beginning, had nothing to object against the dissolution of the monasteries (p 20). Constantin was still skeptical with Leu. In 1837, he still worked together with Fuchs for a liberal church reform. But a two years later, around 1839, he would increasingly oppose the measurements against the church when the radicals gradually became more scrupleless in their actions and break with his radical friends Jakob Robert Steiger and Casimir Pfyffer. He had always tried to improve transparency in the public administration, but it seemed that he was alone with these efforts. It seemed that the people prefered the loud voices over his sophisticated didactical writings in the press. He would conclude that "form and law" could not substitue the right "spirit and moral" (p. 21).

Finally, he reduced all political questions to the theological question "for or against Christ", which according him was directly depending on the questions for or against conservatism. Bernhard Hirzel was a welcom symbol

for this fight. Inbetween all these turmoils his three sons were born, the last one Joseph Ernst in 1834. Constantin regreted very much that he, who considered education such a central issue, had not much time to share with his children and had to leave all their care to his wife alone, which he expressed in his letters and chronicle around 1838²³⁹ (pp. 17-18).

Josephine Siegwart-Müller: How time is running, our little Seppli (Joseph Ernst).

Constantin Siegwart-Müller: Oh, I wanted to kiss him good night.

Josephin: He has already fallen asleep, I fear. Constantin, you work too much.

Constantin Siegwart-Müller: I know, but I have to take this opportunity, now, and finish my speech. This Bernhad Hirzel has moved things upside down and turned them into our favour.

Josephine: I am not so sure that he is such a man of faith, perhaps he acted only in his own interest. Was this Strauss not also a competitor to a position at the University of Zürich Hirzel desired himself? Isn't he a teacher of some strange Indic language? What should that be good for?

Constantin: You might be right, but look the effect your love had on me. I was also lost in rational thought and believed to know everything better. But men is nothing without devotion and a living faith. You have opened me the eyes. They say, Hirzel loved the people, and the people loved him. Why should that not have a similar effect on him as your love had on me?

Josephine nodded. She shrugged her shoulders and went to the door.

Then she turned around and said: Take care, the mob is a jealous lover.

Constantin: I know, I'm feeling it right now. Do you remember my friend Jakob Robert Steiger. Read, read what he is writing now about me, just because we had internal divergences. The liberals are all wrong, just interested in their own benefit. It's all about lawyers, skilled scrupulous twisters of the language. I know what I speak, I had been one of them. It's time to fight for justice against this juridical violence and breaking of treaties that have costed so much. Somebody has to give guarantee for the unhindered execution of our faith. Somebody has to speak for the people and defend their rights. I'm not sure yet, but this Joseph Leu might be an interesting man.

Josephine: I'm not a friend of charismatic people like Leu. But you are right. It took us centuries to arrive where we stay now, and the French occupation had been a serious challenge. Now, that we have overcome these struggles, it's seems ungrateful and dangerous to tear everything down. What kind of progress could that be, trampling on our fathers' efforts and our brothers' feelings.

Don't come to bed too late, darling.

With these words she left Constantin to his papers.

IC2: HOW THINGS ARE CHANGING

Child: So it was all about the relationship between the state and the church?

Grandmother: Well, this rather a symbolic fight, by which Swiss parties radicalized their positions. Even though, it was true that theological questions influenced the personal decisions of many. The meaning of one's own life depended directly on the identity of the state. But there were real political issues. It were not the conservatives who endangered the sovereignty of the Confederation. In 1830, after the French Revolution and the German Hambach festival, in all surrounding monarchies liberals had revolted, even though largely unsuccessfully as in Frankfurt. This caused a large masses of radical liberals, early socialists and communists to flee all over Europe. Many of them hid in Switzerland. This was a threat Switzerland in two ways. On the one side, their radicalism paired with Christian faith was a menace to the conservative church, on the other side, their hustle and bustle from within Switzerland almost conjured a military intervention against Switzerland by the foreign powers.

Many of the revolutionary leaders, as for instance the most emblematic the Italian Giuseppe Manzzini (1805-1872), son of Jacobin professor who had worked as a small people's advocate stayed in Switzerland during and planned their activities from there. Since 1833, Mazzini stayed in Geneva. Manzzini's declared goal was to undermine Catholicism from the insight, he faught for the unification of Italy and a liberal radical, fighting for the republican state with popular democracy, i.e. general suffrage; as opposed to direct democracy. As such he belonged to the social and political movement Risorgimento and belonged to the secret revolutionary society the Carbonari. As part of this movement he led the Savoy uprising, invading Piedmont from

the Swiss side with the intention to pressure the King Charles Albert and convert it into a republic in French style, in 1834. The Savoy uprising failed and, in 1834, Mazzini founded a political organization called Young Europe based on his "Act of brotherhood" in order to continue his fight against the "old Europe" of the monarchies (Ball, 2014, Mehring 2011, p.101). De facto, he tried to overthrow the order of power in Europe as established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 (Smith, 1994, 11-12). Even though this event had originally only affected Savoy and Piedmont, Metternich was worried about the large participation of Germans in this movement and the influence it had on German politics (Innauen, 2008, p. 130). Therefore, he claimed "guarantees" from Switzerland and forced them to re-establish the Presse- and Fremdenkonkordat which had already been in force towards the end of 1820 and decreed that regulated the right to expel foreigners, especially if they involved in political actions, and to censor the press (Dowe, 2001, p. 231-232; Langhard, 1891, p. 22-23).

(See Siegwart-Müller's accounts on Montebello's note for the expulsion of Napoleon III: Siegwart-Müller, 1866, Volume III, 25, pp. 811-846)

One of the representative revolutionaries from Germany was Georg Herwegh (1817-1875) who had exiled in 1839, deserted from the Württemberg army and escaped from censorship with the hope to publish his poems in Switzerland (Enzensberger, 1999, Krausnick, p. 1). These poems would soon later attract his future wife Emma Herwegh, born Siegmund. Two years before his exile, she had already travelled throughout Switzerland and associated the landscape with what she considered the Swiss character:

"Unter solchem Himmel kann aber auch nur eine Nation leben, die in geistiger Freiheit athmet. Gott, Freiheitsliebe, Treue und Gastfreundschaft sind die Grundvesten [sic] des Characters der Schweizer [Under such a sky can only live a nation that breathes in spiritual freedom. God, freedom, love, loyalty and hospitality are the foundations of the Swiss character]" (as cited in Krausnick, p. 14). Her words resumed precisely the merger of ideals between Christianity, republicanism and romanticism that permeated the radical and early socialist movements.

In the meantime, the liberals in Piedmont and Savoy further pressured Charles Albert, who felt even compelled to declare war on Austria towards 1838. A war that was defeated by the Marshal Radezky.

The Herwegh's life was equally frenetic like the one of Bernhard Hirzel. Towards the end of 1842, Emma and Georg met for the first time and in March 1843, they already married. The months inbetween Georg Herwegh had tried to influence the German King Wilhelm IV (1795-1861) through an audience and letters, which caused newly his expulsion, this time from Prussia and Sachsen. Therefore, the Herwegh's marriage had to take place in Baden, Switzerland. Georg Herwegh had filled whole in the heart of Emma, and even more important he had filled her life with meaning, giving it a purpose. Emma Herwegh, grown up in a luxurious, bourgeois Prussian home felt bored and entrapped in her life. She tried to escape this by reading and writing Romantic literature and entangling in complicated romances, for example with Jules Piaget, her ideal of a "free Swiss", married to her sister (Krausnick, p. 15). She rationalized this, merely mental, affair with the ideal of spiritual, brotherly love. But in reality, she would sabotage her "friend's" and her sister's marriage. Thoughts of suicide stroke her mind from time to time (p. 17). After his sudden death she transformed her romantic feelings in a veritable death cult. The intense search for spiritual unification, could later find its fulfillment in her marriage with Georg Herwegh. Yet, he too engaged only one year after their wedding in a love affair with Marie d'Agoult when they live in Paris. Their mutual promiscuity would still break many hearts, not only their own, and give their wedding an additional dramatic element, besides its already breathtaking pace, given by their revolutionary commitment. But the central moment in their common lives would be the fight to free the oppressed German people and convert the German states in one united republican nation. Part of this activities was Emma Herwegh's mission to Berlin, where she visited the Polish revolutionaries around Mieroslawski in October 1847. Emma detested the Prussian feeling of superiority and their offenses against the Polish. Therefore, she preferred to identify with a united German and not with the Prussian empire. Most of the revolutionaries belonged to craftsmen families and the rising group of fabric workers in the large cities of France and Germany. The farmers however, were not delighted to be "freed" by these "republicans".

While the Swiss liberals participated and supported the uprisings in Greece, Germany, Italy and Poland. Still, two Swiss regiments were fighting in the two Sicilies and Neaple...



IC1: THE PRESENT

Grandmother: Many of the rural people, did simply not consider the radical liberals action to free them in any way. The changes in liberal laws had foremost favored the concentration of capital. For example, a fabric owner had to pay the same amount of taxes like a small farmer with only one single cow, while a midsize farmer had to pay a much higher amount. The teethtes still existed, but only for the people from the land, formerly subject to the city. Also growing revival movement in diverse Swiss cantons, was strongly opposed by the radical government, not always without reason, as the tragic stories of Margaretha Peter (1794-1828) who crucified herself, expecting her resurrection after three days, which, finally, did not occur. Another example was Juliane von Krudener (1764-1824) who had an important influence on Johann Caspar Lavater and the Russian Zar Alexander I., so often mentioned by Meta Heusser-Schweizer. Their understanding of liberty was a linking of "revolutionary achievements with Christian hope", i.e. Christian eschatology (Ter-Nedden, 2009). In general they would only oppose the given order if it conflicted with their personal consciousness (see comment on Lavater's interpretation of Romans 13: Ter-Nedden, 2009). In some aspects, they were much more consequent in the revolutionary efforts, for example in the emancipation of women, as could be experienced by the rising number of female lay theologians. Even though, the embrace rational thought and Enlightenment, they also recognized an irrational reality in their lives, a religious experience which confirmed them in their eschatological philosophy beyond a theoretical conception of a future coming of God. For them, "the reign of God" was already present in all the historical experiences of their lives, which were interpreted according to the Bible.

Most of the liberals did not take serious these religious movements and the revolutionary dynamics it had created among the rural people. Thus, when Heinrich Weiss in 1839 tried to convince his fellow liberals that urgent actions were required to content the people and draw clear lines, most of them would not believe him. In fact, the rural people in the surrounding empires had played no major role since the beginning of the 19th century.

But the situation of the farmers in other countries was very different from the Swiss farmers. Most of the Swiss farmers had not been simply subjects to large land owners or kings, they owned their own land and had managed their household as a complex economic unit which received its earnings in a combination of animal husbandry with temporal mercenary services of the male family members and a small home industry, usually in the field of textile and run by the females. Especially, the two last areas had allowed social ascend to the most skilled even during the ancien

régime and a certain economic independence for women. Most of this small craftsmen had lost productivity due to the competition of the fabrics and were forced to work for them or to starve. The fabric work was more monotonous and required advanced skills in reading and calculating which many rural people had not gained through the traditional teaching techniques. Some of the radicals had formed a kind of guerilla, the Volunteer movement, which strategically provoked conservative cantons.

In order to protect their interests, also the conservatives had formed defensive organizations, as for instance the Ruswyler club, established by Joseph Leu. Siegwart-Müller who only saw the destructive aspects of the liberal revolution and the revival movements supported Leu, now. He was finally convinced, that integrity of the church as a political institution was an essential part of Christian faith, much alike the political Christianity of Lavater. 1841, Leu founded a conservative Christian party, the so called people's party (Volkspartei) and Siegwart-Müller fought for Volksouveränität as true

1841, also the foreign power reacted on the Volunteers, above all Metternich. 1853 three convents could be recovered through these efforts.

In 1844, Joseph Leu led a bloodless coup. The same year Palmerston ordered the Confederates to make an end with the Sonderbund. When also the second Volunteer movement failed in 1845, Joseph Leu was murdered when asleep. This was turning point for Siegwart-Müller who would take the leadership of the Ruswyler club and would finally take actions against liberals, by calling the Jesuits back to the educational institutes in Luzern. Furtheron, he convert the conservative concordate of the Seven into a defensive military alliance against the liberal Volunteers, the separatist league (Sonderbund). He would finally take actions against liberals, by calling the Jesuits back to the educational institutes in Luzern. He was appointed head of the war council. So was Heinrich Weiss in Zürich, on the liberal, Confederate side.

Constantin founded the Borromäic academy in order to bring conservative thinkers to the city of Luzern, using the same strategies the liberals of Zürich had used with the appointment of David Friedrich Strauss.

In July 1847, the liberal had achieved majority in the Swiss Diet in favor of the dissolution of the Sonderbund.

This was their official legitimation to intervene with military actions by the Confederate troops. Constantin started negotiating with Polish and Austrian forces in order to get support. But already after a few encounter at Geltswil, Gislikon, Michaelskappel, Buonas and Meyerskappel the war was over. Constantin and the conservative cause had lost.



MC2: IMPULSIVE RESPONSES

The leaders of the conservatives of 1839 and 1847 had to face persecution in very different ways and would also approach it differently.

Bernhard Hirzel had been the hero of the land for one day. But soon, his opponent would catch him with the opaque financial balance of the Fire Commission enriched false and true rumours about his wanton lifestyle. Even when facing all these administrative and juridical problems, Bernhard was not able to act in a controlled way. In spite of his precarious love life, he further indepted with defending himself against political oponents in a gratuitous court cases. Finally, he had to leave Zürich and went to Paris to hide. There, it seemed that he would almost recover and he had had real chance to pay all is depts back. The only condition had been not to increase his debpt unnesserally and not to live together with his great love Marie Welti until his divorce from his wife Elise Tobler was settled. Apparently, for inner reasons, he was not able to do so. People discovered that they lived together and the rumours reached even Zürich, which endangered his divorce and his reputation. He would loose all oportunities to find a new position in Paris and was even rejected by most apartment holders. The only option that left to them was a life in prostitution for Marie and beggars existence for Bernhard. He who had given everything to become a different man and to change the hilarious destiny of his father and grandfather, he who had won the love of an entire people, he had finally to surrender to the demon money, whose game he had lost, not for a craving, like his father, but for an exessive jauntiness. However, his hunger for love would be answered. Marie Welti followed him wherever he would lead her, she would live only for him and he could stay without her. Love? From the outside perspective she seemed rather the codependent parnter of a love-addicted (see on codependency Rogríguez Blanco, 2013, Bebko, 2014). Neither of the was able to see a way out. At this point, not even his best and most loyal friend Bluntschli was able to help him anymore. The couple set everything, willfully on one card, to see each other for a last time and die together. For this purpose Bernhard sold his signet ring, which was no longer needed for recognizing his Shakuntal, Marie Welti. His Libertas was this twenty year old younger girl with the Madonna face, a virgin or like the nymph Urvashi. Alike Pururva, Bernhard left "his throne to his son", and escaped Maya, to return with his Marie to her celestial home, to reunite with Indra's emptyness. The

last lines in Bernhard's last letter remained cryptic, yet his life had surprising dramatic equivalences with the Indic poet Kalidasa's drama *Vikramorvaiya* which Bernhard had translated (Hirzel, 1838, pp. 155-157, Srivastava, 2012, *Vikramorvaiya*). Finally, he hoped to achieve in death what he had not been able to do in life; to redeem what he considered the original sin of his family. Helped by a poison they committed suicide together on the 8th of June 1847. With this he joined the list of Romantic poets who committed double suicide.

Constantin Siegwart-Müller had not only been celebrated by his people but had been Grand Councilor of Luzern and member of the Confederate Diet. After the Sonderbund had lost the war, he had to leave country, not due to political persecution but because the Diet had sanctioned him with 20.000 Swiss francs which signified his immediate insolvency with all the related consequences of pauperism and imprisonment for debt. Thus, he first fled to the Valais, and later had to abandon Switzerland fleeing to Austria, the Alsace and Germany. During the following 10 years he would live a life of constant unrest and flight, until he could finally return to his home in Altorf, canton of Uri, in 1857. There he would publish his autobiography. Not much had left from the revolutionary efforts. The radicals had turned the country upside down. But he would leave a heritage and tell the "truth" about how "violence" won over "justice" hoping for a better future for his children (Siegwart-Müller, 1866).

But not only the conservatives suffered. Also the liberal revolutionaries experienced difficult times. Those, who had not been executed, lived in exile fighting censorship, persecution and poverty; despised as defeated traitors or crazy dreamers. This was also the luck of Emma and Georg Herwegh. And that Georg did not succumb to his own suicidal thoughts was in great part the merit of Emma. Seemingly, it was not the time for idealists anymore, who wanted to triumph had to ally with the radicals in Switzerland and the monarchies abroad simultaneously.

One of these men was Alfred Escher from Zürich. As a young man he had participated in the Confederate troops against the Sonderbund and experienced a steep ascend to almost all important political offices, after it. In a similar way to Bernhard Hirzel he was driven by an inner impulse, he wanted to change the country, the world, he wanted the power to move things, to do something good something lasting. His two major projects were the development of the retarded and almost unexisting railway transport system and the liberal reformation of the education system by establishing a Swiss national university and expelling definitively the Jesuits from Switzerland.



MC3: INNERMOST DESIRES

The dream of a sovereign liberal state seemed reaffirmed. While the rest of Europe had oppressed all liberal movements Switzerland had achieved a Constitution that established now the Confederation formally as a national unity. The organization of a national army, the establishment of a nation university and the homologation of many rules and the development of efficient transport ways were necessary for it. Until this unity would become political reality would still pass some time. One of the variables which most pushed the Swiss to this unity was once more foreign emigration.

While Siegwart-Müller bided his time in Germany, many European revolutionaries shared the same destiny in Switzerland. (Lang, 2006)

Württemberg and Bavaria - salt and corn trade (Innauen, 2008, pp. 146-147, 164-166) - Heinrich Weiss

A series of diplomatic conflicts caused by the foreign revolutionaries who hid in Switzerland and often planned their activities from there, kept the Diet busy. Mazzini, who had returned from London to Küsnacht in the canton of Zürich, published an open letter from 17 September 1854 in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (NZZ) in which he claimed for a consequent asylum policy (Lang, 2006, p. 10). By this time Stefano Frascini, was member of the Diet and, during the decade after the Sonderbund, had worked together with Alfred Escher for the Gotthard tunnel, the railway and achieved the establishment, even though not of the Federal university, at least of a Federal Institute of Technology (today ETH). Towards 1855 he was tired of the constant struggles in the local and federal government and wrote in May 1856 to Cristina Rusca: "Dov'è, buon Dio, dov'è, la bella repubblica, morale, concorde e tranquilla, prospera e onorata, ch'io con tanti altri ci immaginavamo nei nostri bei sogni [...] Povero Cantone Ticino! [Where, good God, where is the beautiful republic, moral, harmonious, peaceful, prosperous and honored, which I with so many others had imagined in our beautiful dreams [...]] Poor canton Ticino) (Meriggi, 2008, p. 290). His daughter Clelia had a different standpoint and even blamed her father around September and October for his asylum policies which he countered concluding that this was a men's affair (p. 291).

Nothing was farther than this. In Zürich lived, by this time, also Georg Herwegh, the German freedom fighter. After a dramatic love affair with Natalie Herzen, who ended with Natalie's early death, followed by a public press scandal and two years of separation of the Herweghs, Emma Herwegh returned with her sons to Georg in Zürich. There, at her Zürich home she organized a salon where many free thinkers and revolutionaries gathered; among others Bakunin, Hecker, the Carbonari Manzzini, Orsini and Garibaldi or liberal artists like Georg's loyal friend Richard Wagner. Around the year 1856, Emma had helped Felice Orsini to pass the frontier and when this failed she actively conspired for his escape from the prison in Mantua. However, two years later, after Orsini's assassination attempt on Napoleon III, he would be sentenced to death and executed in 1858 by the guillotine. Others were more lucky and could escape to the United States of America; sometimes even with the financial support from the Federal government (Lang, 2006, p. 10). One of those who emigrated to America was Garibaldi. From 1836-1848, he had already been active in Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina together with his lover and companion in arms Anita. He had returned to Europe to fight in the Lombardy against the Austrians and to support the unification of Italy. In 1849 he became deputy of Rome and fought for Rome's independence against the French troops, and later Neapolitan royal troops who supported the Pope. Among these troops were also several Swiss regiments engaged. Rudolph Steiger, for example reported about this encounter in his diary. After an epical fight and defeat, Garibaldi exiled, first to Tanger, then to Staten Island (New York) and finally to Central America. Garibaldi returned to Italy in 1854, and during the Second Italian War of Independence 1859, he was appointed major general. The 1860 uprisings in Messina and Palermo came very convenient to him. Called by Victor Emmanuel II of Italy he declared himself dictator of Sicily and took the city of Napoli. Later in October he headed for Rome and Nice, establishing a unification movement, the International Legion; compound of among other European nations French, German, and Polish divisions, including Swiss. After this, in 1861 he offered his service to the American President Abraham Lincoln in the American Civil War. But one of his conditions was that the abolition of slavery was declared goal of the war, which was rejected by Lincoln (Benson, 2011, p. 161). The international pressure from the Catholics, led Victor Emmanuel II take a more passive position. The Italian government directly acted against Garibaldi and opposed him in an encounter at the foot of the mountain Aspromonte, lead by Colonel Emilio Pallavicini, on 28 August 1862. Garibaldi was defeated on the battlefield mainly because of his unwillingness to allow volunteers to shoot on their own fellow countrymen, but he would gain the respect of Europe's liberals for his ethical attitude. After a short imprisonment, he would even return to the Italian parliament. In 1879 he founded the League of Democracy. Its declared goals were general suffrage, abolition of ecclesiastical property, emancipation of women,

and maintenance of a standing army. He died in 1882. Besides his deeds on the battlefield he had contributed also to the image of mountaineers to be free people in comparison to people of other regions, enforcing the Alps as liberation myth. He had a strong influence on his friend Emma Herwegh who commented the events (1861).

Garibaldi had also been a friend of Marie Goegg-Pouchelin the Swiss fighter for women's rights and antimilitarism (Ramos, 2008). While the Austrian Berta von Suttner used her novelistic and autobiographic talent to accuse the ethical decline of her country, the Swiss women movement towards the end of the 19th Century strategically involved in converting the armed fight into a culture of legal disputes and arbitration (Ramos, 2008).

Within the context of the debates on political refugees and around Garibaldi's project for a United States of Europe, the Inaugural Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom was held in Geneva, in 1867 which would mark a milestone in the history of the intended abolition of war (Arenal, 2008). Key in this movement was the integration of learned women who would write on "education, female rights and laicism". Prominent forerunners was the Swiss Marie Goegg-Puchelin who founded in 1878 the International Association of Women. In 1879, joined Julie von May von Rüed and became the chairperson. She emphasized the importance of women's education and equality before the law over the need to fight for women's suffrage (von May).

Also Emma's salon was not limited to male revolutionaries and philosophers, many famous women met there like the princess Carolin Sayn-Wittgenstein, the friend of Franz Liszt, Gottfried Semper's daughter Lisbeth Semper, countess Hatzfeld and Ludmilla Assing. The unique political situation of Switzerland and its unique landscape would soon fuse in a symbolic amalgam for peace and freedom.

This had also positive influences on tourism. This was also experienced by Katharina Morel who managed since 1846 the Schweizerhof in Luzern. Europe's royalties and freethinkers would enjoy the beautiful view on the mountains and pass their leisure time on a steamboat on Lake Lucern equally.

To the men around Emma Herwegh belonged also Karl Marx and Friedrich Engel who, back in 1848 had published their Communist Manifesto. Engels had found refuge in Switzerland but would not enter the choir glorifying the free spirit

of the Swiss but rather call them a "center of barbarism and the nursery of Jesuits" in his comments on the Swiss civil war 1847 (Engels, 1847).

"A very civil war" - all just a point of view. In any case Engels had to leave the country very soon and would find opposition among the conservatives (Bluntschli) and liberals (Weiss) equally; considered as dangerous. After the communists had been banned, the true threat for liberalism came from its insight. Alfred Escher, had an extraordinary talent to concentrate power in his diverse political offices, believing that this was the most efficient way to "move things". In order to finance the Swiss Northeastern Railway which he cofounded in 1852, he established the Credit Suisse, under the name Schweizerische Kreditanstalt (Swiss Credit Institution) in 1856. This was also the beginning of major changes in the Swiss financial system. His goal was to go against the state-run railway, the St. Gallen based United Swiss Railways. In order to keep control over the railway company he wanted to avoid French banks by domestic funding provided through a shareholder (Dietler, 1899; Meier, Marthinsen, Pascal, 2012, Franks & Nunally, 2010, p. 198). Based on the model of the French bank *Crédit Mobilier*, and even though considered more conservative in its credit policies, the increasing indeptment of the locals would create political controversies and impulse the further creation of cantonal banks (Pohl, 1994, 1016). The radical economic liberalism, considered by some as scupeless, by others as visionary, was therefore also known by its opponents under the term *System Escher* (Campi, 2008, pp. 52-53; Rüsch, 2010, p. 27; Bornschier, 2000, p. 193). Alfred was also the chairman of the Gotthard Railway and involved in the construction management for the Gotthard tunnel built from 1871-1881. The tunnel was a true challenge for all involved. The health of Escher suffered terribly, and the Swiss engineer Louis Favre, who supervised the construction work, would later on, in the Göschenen section, die from a heat attack (Helene, 1882). In various incidents and general problems of work security lead to health problems and death of many of the workers which led to a strike in 1875. The Federal Army had to intervene and four workers were killed, thirteen wounded (Kaufmann, 1882; Koller, 2009, Kästli, 1977). The Gotthard was also an important international project, cofinanced by the German states, later Germany and Italy (Schueler, 2008).

The Gotthard Railway Company, founded in 1882, was finally taken over by the state-owned Swiss Federal Railways in 1909. (private or government projects? Depends on the dynamics between legislative and executive and the true barer of risk - if government monarchy, taxpayers on decision²if direct democracy much decision but supposedly less efficient. If private company owner takes direct decision much democracy or actioneers indirect, defacto

government by manager. what happened when bankrupt of great losses - in Zürich the government had to resolve the problems of impoverished people not the railway company... a hunt for domination and control camouflaged as progress would end.

Heinrich Weiss - who thought that things should be done, but would not require that frenetic pace - was it worth the lives of more than 200 persons to gain 10 perhaps even 30 years in the building of the tunnel and the railway? Hard to say...what if - a question related to preventive attack and victims as collaterals in an economic war. There was no objective answer on this, but an ethical. It would require an individual analysis of Alfred's story to understand better what drove him so much.



MI3: CHANGING ONE'S NATURE

The rising controversies about the pushy, risky decisions on far reaching projects taken almost solely by Escher and involving not only his own property had not only favoured those who opposed his strategies but also those who opposed his political ideals of a strong, centralized state. One of those opposers was Karl Bürkli.

He was a man with large experiences in being a worker, managing a fabric and later organizing and applying a social constitution. The first one he had gained through is practical training and work as a tanner (1839-1842). This was a rather unusual career for the offspring of an aristocratic family (Zurlinden, 1914b, p. 316). His father as a conservative opposed Strauss' appointment from the beginning and suffered much because of his son's rejection of the Christian faith. Karl Bürkli had a different vision for Switzerland.

Already 1845, Johann Jakob Treichler had founded the Hilfs- und Bildungsverein in order to promote socialist ideas and to support the needs of the fabric workers and small craftsmen. 1851 Karl Bürkli who publicly defined himself as a socialist was elected Grand Councilor in Aussersihl (today Zürich). He became a member of the Grütliverein, a workers association, and together with Treichler he founded the Konsumverein Zürich [Consumers' Association Zurich], the first of its kind in Switzerland and a forerunner for the later federation of the consumers' associations in Zürich, Basel, Grenchen, Biel und Olten, under the brand Coop (1890) and a model for Migros founded in 1925 by Gottlieb Duttweiler, who established as a political tool for his Ring of Independents (Landesring der Unabhängigen (LdU)) with the goal to mediate between capitalism and socialism. In 1851, the Consumers' Association worked as kind of early socialist party organization (COOP, 2014, Müller, 1896, Handschin, 1954, Kellerhals 1990). But Bürkli was not less a visionary than Escher, thus when he saw

that things would not develop according to his ideals. For Bürkli, unlike the conservatives, direct democracy was a transitional tool towards the socialist state. In 1855 he gathered around 100 people to leave for Texas, which had as an independent republic joined the United States in 1845. Their, they built a kind of utopian society; the so called Phalanstère based on the Fourier System (Bürkli, Texasexpedition). The project failed mainly due to two reasons; a miscalculation of the economic situation of Texas and the unwillingness to approve the Texan policies of slavery. Bürkli returned short before the outbreak of the American Civil War (1861-1865) to Zürich in 1858. He became a Constitutional Councilor and was member of the 35er-Kommission a committee for the development of the constitutional revision (Zurlinde, 1914c, p. 217; Bütikofer-Johanni, 1982, pp. 19, 154; Koller, 1987, pp. 16, 117).

1860 the Democratic movement started as a kind of grass-root movement in order to claim a constitutional revision which would include direct democratic, socialist and state-interventionist ideals in the cantonal Constitution. Their success, later opened a discussion about the inclusion of these elements also at Federal level. A first revision in 1872 failed, because the majority considered it too much centralizing the state. In 1874, with a more federalistic structure, the revision was passed. Among other points, the army had finally become a Confederate responsibility, and was no longer under the cantonal government, the Federal Supreme Court of Switzerland in Lausanne was confirmed, the optional referendum was included and led to a transformation from a representative towards a semi-direct democracy, and the Federal government received the rights to regulate labor which led in 1877 to the first Federal Factory Act. Bürkli had contributed much to these changes.

this was an important point for the further development of Swiss industrialization...

In 1866, Bürkli had joined the First International and founded, one year later, its section Zürich of which he was president until 1976. He joined Swiss Workers Movement and would soon claim for a further adaption of the Swiss constitution; the inclusion of a proportional representation.

Bürkli and the early Swiss socialists forced conservatives and liberals equally to change. In the 1874 Constitution, the prohibition of the Jesuits was consolidated but also the freedom of business, faith and consciousness (Gewerbe-, Glaubens- und Gewissensfreiheit) was guaranteed (Schaffner, 1982). For the ultramontane this was still a challenge.

Further, their understanding of direct democracy had different origins and different ends. The liberals were especially challenged by his socio-economic projects due to the fact that some of them really worked and seemed to bring even better results. Thus, Swiss entrepreneurs, as for instance Adolf Guyer-Zeller (1839-1899), the owner of a spinning-mill in the Töss valley, canton of Zürich, had studied at the Swiss Institute of Technology and became Escher's successor in the Swiss Northeastern Railway. Also Guyer-Zeller would found a bank, the Guyer-Zeller-Bank (today HSBC Guyerzeller Bank), in order to finance his own pioneer project the Jungfrau railway (Jungfraubahn). But he had learned to integrate social elements, as his Hiking-Trails built *Kosthäuser*, houses which could be rent by labourers. He introduced a work-free Sunday, and promoted leisure offers for workers, like the Sunday ball (Feusi, 2012; Bauma, 2014, SRF, 2014).

An other important contribution of Karl Bürkli was his historical revisionism, away from panegyric and hero stories towards a more democratic Swiss historiography (HLS Bürgi, 2011; Schiedt, 2002). Yet, what remained, or even grew was the unifying myth of the Alps. For the liberal radicals a symbol that reflected their "drive for progress and knowledge, an emphatic belief in technology and the future" (Frister & Bomio, 2012; Vollmer & Buman, 2011; Stadler, 2007).



MI4: CONCEIVING AN IDEA

1863, further amplifications of the Schweizerhof were done and Gottfried Semper, close friend of Richard Wagner, decorated its central ceiling with a painting. Further, he designed a villa for Coronel Segesser.

5 July 1863, Georg Herwegh entered Lasalles association "Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein" and became its representative for Switzerland. 23 August, Herwegh finished his "Bundeslied" - the first anthem of the German proletariat.

Siegwart-Müller published the first volume of his autobiographical work "Ratsherr Josef Leu von Ebersol" in Altdorf.

21 July 1864, Katharina's guesthouse was officially registered.

1866, August 22nd, Georg Herwegh became honorary correspondent of the I. International. 24 April 1867, Herwegh's library and his valuables were sold in a public

auction in Zürich. In order to make some money, Herwegh translated several Shakespear Dramas. In August, the German "Schillerstiftung" rejected Emma Herwegh's application for a pension for Herwegh and pays a unique reimbursement of 250 Taler. In July 1870, began the Franco-German War. Georg Herwegh attacked Bismarck's politics of blood and iron ("Blut- und Eisen-Politik").

1 Januar 1871 Wilhelm I. became German Kaiser and Herwegh accused the "Reich der Reichen" [the rich of the rich].

7 April 1875, Georg Herwegh died of a pulmonistis.

Around that also

2 January 1876, Meta Heusser-Schweizer died in Hirzel. 7 March 1876 Katharina Morel died in Luzern at the age of 86. 1877, Emma Herwegh stayed in Stuttgart and hold friendship with Carl Mayer and Ludwig Pfau.

In the same year, Georg Herwegh's poems Neue Gedichte were published postmortem helped by Ludwig Pfau but they were immediately prohibited.

Summer 1875, Meta in Hirzel, Katharina in Luzern, Emma in Liesthal, burrying her husband - all at home, the "free republican earth".



OST2: OBTAINING

OST3: GATHERING INFORMATION

Party life,

Free Democratic Party (FDPP°2PLR°2PLD): Two seats.

Social Democratic Party (SPS°2PSS): Two seats.

Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP°2PDC°2PPD°2PCD):
One seat.

Conservative Democratic Party of Switzerland (BDP°2PBD):
One seat.

Swiss People's Party (SVP°2UDC°2PPS): One seat.

1815 federal state, (vs. Confederation)

1848 bicameral system

Recall election, Bern 1846, Solothurn 1869, Thurgau, 1869,
Schaffhausen 1876, Ticino 1892, Uri 1888. also others since
1860 but later, in 20th Century abolished.

veto - referendum (plebiscite, ballot question) facultative
referendum,

proportional representation (Proporz) - parity - magic
formula (Zauberformel) (an arithmetic formula for dividing
the seven executive seats of the Swiss Federal Council
between the four ruling parties. The formula was first
applied in 1959)

1891 federal popular initiative - double majority

limited direct democracy: referendum (plebiscite),
initiative, and recall.



MC4: CONTEMPLATION

Katharina morels death

the Gotthard - united people

1874, Constitutional revision

1899

1880, Emma Herwegh reallocation to Paris where her sons lived.

April 1893, she began a friendship with Frank Wedekind in her apartment in the Latin Quarter.

1896, The magazin "Simplicissimus" opens with Herwegh poems. Thanks to the mediation of Wedekind the volume "1848" is published including Emma Herwegh's "Geschichte der deutschen demokratischen Legion".

Dittmar's Die sociale Reform, Johanna Friederike Louise Dittmar (1807-1884), theological (social) identity building (Dittmar, 1845a, 1848).

Der politische Tendenz-Prozeß gegen Gottschalk, Anneke und Esser (Anneke, 1848) - first German women's News Paper (Frauenzeitung), only 2 exemplary published (Henkel & Taubert, 1976). Mathilde Franziska Anneke (1817-1884), Frau aus dem badisch-pfälzischen Feldzuge (Anneke, 1982) - Politikverbot in Germany until 1908 (Gélieu, 2008), emigrated to the United States.

Luzern, last words of Katharina - the Gotthard...

In the same year, in Luzern, the steamboat berthed directly at the dock in front of the hotel Schweizerhof, so that Kaiser Wilhelm II. and his entourage could enter on the red carpet directly into the Schweizerhof, where the Confederate Council received him to a "table d'hôte".

1901, Horace Herwegh died in Paris.

24 March 1904, Emma Herwegh died in Paris. She was 87 years old.



IC3: THE FUTURE

Outllok

violence won over justice?

C.G. Jung.

"fight with one's own shadow [der Kampf mit dem eigenen Schatten]" (Ulivary, 2013, pp. 14-15)

"Wahre Demokratie ist eine höchst psychologische Einrichtung, die der menschlichen Natur Rechnung trägt und der Notwendigkeit von Konflikt innerhalb ihrer eigenen nationalen Grenzen Spielraum lässt" [True democracy is a highly psychological affair, which takes human nature into account and lieves room for the need of conflict within their own national borders). (Jung cited in Baumann) - he believed that is was the psyche and not consciousness which caused wars (Robert Hinshaw, 1986, 25)



were we ill or were we bad?